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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
TWO HUNDRED AND THIRD MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Tuesday, 20 April 1993, at 3 p.m.

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| President: | Mr. MARKER | (Pakistan) |
| Members: | Brazil | Mr. SARDENBERG |
| | Cape Verde | Mr. BARBOSA |
| | China | Mr. CHEN Jian |
| | Djibouti | Mr. OLHAYE |
| | France | Mr. LADSOUS |
| | Hungary | Mr. ERDOS |
| | Japan | Mr. HATANO |
| | Morocco | Mr. BENJELLOUN-TOUIMI |
| | New Zealand | Mr. O'BRIEN |
| | Russian Federation | Mr. VORONTSOV |
| | Spain | Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO |
| | United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland | Sir David HANNAY |
| | United States of America | Mr. WALKER |
| | Venezuela | Mr. ARRIA |

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The meeting was called to order at 3.20 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decisions taken at the previous meetings on this item, I invite the representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina to take a place at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Bahrain, Bulgaria, Canada, the Comoros, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, Germany, Indonesia, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Ireland, Italy, Jordan, Lithuania, Malaysia, Malta, Qatar, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Slovenia, Sweden, Turkey, Ukraine and the United Arab Emirates to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Sacirbey (Bosnia and Herzegovina) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Farhadi (Afghanistan), Mr. Shkurti (Albania), Mr. Hadid (Algeria), Mr. Cardenas (Argentina), Mr. Hohenfellner (Austria), Mr. Abdul Ghaffar (Bahrain), Mr. Pashovski (Bulgaria), Mrs. Fréchette (Canada), Mr. Moumin (Comoros), Mr. Drobnjak (Croatia), Mr. Galuska (Czech Republic), Mr. Haakonsen (Denmark), Mr. Ayala Lasso (Ecuador), Mr. Elaraby (Egypt), Mr. Graf zu Rantzau (Germany), Mr. Soegarda (Indonesia), Mr. Kharrazi (Islamic Republic of Iran), Mr. Collins (Ireland), Mr. Scialoja (Italy), Mr. Abu Odeh (Jordan), Mr. Simutis (Lithuania), Mr. Razali (Malaysia), Mr. Camilleri (Malta), Mr. Al-Ni'mah (Qatar), Mr. Voicu (Romania), Mr. Allagany (Saudi Arabia), Mr. Cissé (Senegal), Mr. Koroma (Sierra Leone), Mr. Türk (Slovenia), Mr. Osvald (Sweden), Mr. Burcuoglu (Turkey), Mr. Batiouk (Ukraine) and Mr. Samhan (United Arab Emirates) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now resume its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The first speaker is the representative of Jordan. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. ABU ODEH (Jordan) (interpretation from Arabic): Permit me to begin the statement of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan by congratulating you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. I am confident that your wide experience, expertise and wisdom will enable you to conduct the business of the Council in the best manner.

I take this opportunity also to express the gratitude and appreciation of my country's delegation to Ambassador O'Brien, Permanent Representative of New Zealand, for the successful, dextrous and able way in which he guided the work of the Council last month.

Let me also thank you, Mr. President, for convening this series of meetings to discuss the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. But before going into the escalating tragic aspects of the situation of that unfortunate country and the urgent tasks it imposes upon the Council, it is my duty first to point to the bright side, faint as it is, of this grim picture. On behalf of my delegation I should like to pay a tribute to the efforts of the international peace-keeping forces for the humanitarian task they are carrying out in very difficult conditions. I also pay a tribute to the non-governmental relief organizations for their commendable persistence in providing assistance to the afflicted in this crazy and ugly war.

I do not intend to review all the chapters of the tragi-comedy entitled Bosnia and Herzegovina; it has been and continues to be watched in every household that owns a television set anywhere in the world. It is all well known to the Council, because the details are repeated day after day in every

(Mr. Abu Odeh, Jordan)

phase of the development of the Serb aggression against Bosnian Muslims that has been going on for over a year.

Suffice it to say that the Serb aggression constitutes an open and continuous challenge to the Charter of the United Nations and that it is aggression being carried out by criminals who continue to deny not only the humanity of their victims but their own humanity as well. All the resolutions adopted against them and all the appeals made to their humanity have failed to deter them or to halt their brutality. Is he a human being who robs tens of thousands of children of their future and who continues to do so? Is he a human being who systematically and collectively rapes women and who continues to do so? Is he a human being who uproots others from their homes and livelihoods and from the habitat in which they grew up and who continues to do so? Is he a human being of our modern age who practises the crime of "ethnic cleansing" and who continues to do so?

It is no less painful, sad and shocking that these acts are being committed in the heart of Europe by a European people. Where are the human rights, ideals and principles that are the adornments of Western discourse?

Where, indeed, is the United Nations?

If the Serbs challenge and violate the Charter of the United Nations by continuing their aggression against Muslims, the United Nations would be violating the Charter if it failed to use the powers provided for in the Charter to stop that aggression - unless there are two United Nations, one that uses its powers and another that does not.

If that is the case, what is going to happen to international peace and security? We are confused. Are we to expect aggression to be deterred or stopped only if the conflict occurs in a country where the influential Powers have interests? Is that to be the standard? Then so be it.

(Mr. Abu Odeh, Jordan)

Nevertheless, we have to ask ourselves, what about human rights?

Do members not agree with me that the failure of the United Nations after a year of continuous Serb aggression against Bosnian Muslims to deter or stop that aggression places every Member State in front of a mirror containing, if not the picture of Dorian Gray, then at least that of hypocrisy beyond its politically accepted limits?

Would I be exaggerating to propose that, in order to alleviate the ugliness of that picture and in order for us in the United Nations to be true to ourselves, the international conference on human rights to be held at Vienna be postponed and that debate on human rights in any country be suspended until we are able to preserve the human dignity of the Bosnian Muslim survivors?

(Mr. Abu Odeh, Jordan)

I should like to make it clear that I am saying this without ulterior motives, because my country is proud of its respect for human rights.

It would not be difficult for an observer tracking the Serbian aggression to realize that this aggression has followed a certain pattern since it started over a year ago. The pattern is as follows: first, a brutal Serbian attack on Muslims; secondly, a resolution adopted by the Security Council; thirdly, a cease-fire agreement between the Serbs and the Muslims, arranged by the United Nations command in the field; fourthly, a Serbian violation of the cease-fire in the form of a new attack; fifthly, new gains on the ground by the Serbian forces.

The situation has reached a stage which makes it imperative for us to be more candid so that we may learn the lessons of this experience and reach a decisive solution that would put an end to the aggression and enable the conflicting parties to reach a peaceful solution to the problem and would break the pattern the Serbian aggression has followed.

In this context, I should like to point out two things. First, it is well known that resort to Article 42 of the Charter cannot take place without the agreement of the great Powers, for many realistic reasons, chief among which is that the application of this Article has military and logistical requirements that are feasible only for the great Powers. We all know that the leaders of these Powers have, on several occasions, said that it is difficult to take military action to stop the Serbian aggression and that it should therefore be avoided, citing in this regard the situation faced by the German divisions fighting in Yugoslav territory during the Second World War. I am certain that such statements were not meant to reassure the Serbian

(Mr. Abu Odeh, Jordan)

leaders, but, unfortunately, they conveyed an implicit message that gave them assurance that Article 42 would not be applied against them.

Secondly, the Security Council resolution that banned shipments of armaments to the conflicting parties has created a strange and sad situation. The image of the situation that emerges from this resolution is that of a Bosnian Muslim tied to a tree from head to toe and a Serbian tied to a tree by his leg with a long rope and still holding his whip in his hand. The Serbian has been whipping the Muslim, who can only scream for help. The onlookers, represented by the United Nations, only offer him water so that he may not die of thirst.

Resolution 820 (1993) was necessary. My country's delegation, however, fears that the impact of this resolution will be no better than that of its predecessors, in that it will not stop the Serbian aggression until the Serbs have achieved all their objectives on the ground. So, according to the pattern followed by the Serbs, the next step would be a cease-fire agreement, followed by a Serbian violation in the form of a new attack and the achievement of new gains.

For resolution 820 (1993) to bear its intended fruits, my delegation proposes that the Council adopt a new resolution supporting resolution 820 (1993) and giving it force and effectiveness by including two things. First, it should lift the ban on arming the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in accordance with Article 51 of the Charter. To say that arming the Bosnian Muslims would increase the killing is not a sound argument to justify the Security Council's reluctance to lift the arms embargo against the Bosnian Muslims. Since the beginning of the Serbian aggression the Muslims have been in a position of self-defence, and they are the ones who continue to pay the

(Mr. Abu Odeh, Jordan)

price of the fighting. If they defended themselves they would reduce their losses. If Serbian losses were increased, that would not be objectionable, because the losses would, hopefully, deter them, and this is the intention; for what is required, in the first place, is to stop the fighting so that peace negotiations may continue, especially since the Muslims and the Croats have already signed the Vance-Owen plan.

Secondly, a final warning should be issued to the Serbian forces that they should initiate a cease-fire on a certain date; otherwise, the Security Council would apply Article 42 of the Charter.

My delegation supports all the efforts undertaken to achieve a cease-fire as a preliminary step towards achieving a peaceful solution to this war, which has degraded human dignity and shaken the credibility of the United Nations.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Jordan for his kind words addressed to my predecessor and to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Lithuania. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. SIMUTIS (Lithuania): Allow me to congratulate you, Sir, on your asumption of the presidency of the Security Council this month. I wish you the greatest success as you preside over deliberations on extremely difficult and important issues. I also pay a tribute to the President of the Council for the month of March, Ambassador O'Brien of New Zealand, for his able guidance of the Council's work. Please allow me also to express my appreciation for this opportunity to address the Security Council, which is entrusted with the main tas: of the United Nations: maintaining peace and security in our turbulent world.

(Mr. Sinutis, Lithuania)

I wish to convey to the Security Council the great concern of the Government and the people of Lithuania over the tragic situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Lithuanian people are horrified at such blatant violations of international humanitarian law as the intense shelling of Bosnian cities and towns, unending massacres, rapes and expulsions of the civilian population under the outrageous policy of "ethnic cleansing". This horror has continued for over a year now, and it appears that previously undertaken measures to stop it are failing.

(Mr. Simutis, Lithuania)

As a small State, Lithuania to a large extent relies for its security on the United Nations, the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and other international organisations. We are convinced that the credibility of these organisations in preventing conflicts and managing crises will depend on their ability to act with resolve and determination in the Bosnian crisis. Still, countless cease-fires have been broken in a matter of days or hours, and the decisions of the Security Council are blatantly disregarded. The question arises of whether the policies of aggression and "ethnic cleansing" will be allowed to succeed. If this is the case, how can a small country rely in the future on international organisations and the concept of collective security?

We should be aware of the grave implications the Bosnian tragedy poses for the international community. The greatest danger lies in the incompatibility between the emerging prospects for collective security and the failure of international organisations to stop the aggression. The violent and forcible subjugation of a sovereign State Member of the United Nations, if allowed to succeed, will set an ominous precedent for the future. It is the duty of the nations around this table and the United Nations membership as a whole to ensure that the resurgence of the policy of might makes right does not prevail.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Lithuania for his kind words addressed to my predecessor and to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Algeria. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. HADID (Algeria) (interpretation from French): Allow me first of all to extend to you, Sir, the warm congratulations of the Algerian delegation on your assuming the presidency of the Council for the month of April. The effectiveness and skill you are displaying in guiding the work of the Council bear witness to your great talents, which are recognized by all, and are guarantees of success in your mission.

Your predecessor as President of the Council, Ambassador O'Brien of New Zealand, is likewise fully deserving of our gratitude and consideration for the noteworthy way in which he performed his duties last month.

The current discussion is being held at a time when the tragedy that is being visited on the Bosnian people, and more specifically on the Muslim population of that country, has crossed a new threshold fraught with consequences. The events in eastern Bosnia confirm - if such were necessary - that there is an escalation going on that is dangerous for the future not only of Bosnia and Herzegovina but also of the entire Balkan region. This escalation reflects the aggressor's persistance in his attitude of defiance towards the international community.

The plight of the civilian populations has been accurately described as attempted genocide, as has just been confirmed as such by the International Court of Justice in its opinion handed down on 8 April, in which it called for respect for the commitments that have been made in the area of prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide.

Algeria, which over a year ago drew the attention of the Council to the seriousness of the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and to the risks of escalation inherent in it, wishes to reiterate its solidarity with and its support for the Bosnian Government in defending the sovereignty, territorial

(Mr. Hadid, Algeria)

integrity and independence of that State Member of the United Nations. Furthermore, we would emphasize that it is up to the international community, and more specifically the Security Council, to ensure respect for the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations by sparing no effort to put an end to the aggression and re-establish justice and the rule of law.

That is why Algeria has constantly endeavoured, both in the Organization of the Islamic Conference and in the non-aligned Movement, to encourage political pressure and specific measures to implement a just and lasting settlement of this problem. We have also contributed to the humanitarian efforts by supplying material assistance and by receiving and treating the wounded.

The Vance-Owen plan, into whose drafting so much effort was put, has been accepted by the Bosnian Government and by the Croat side despite its shortcomings; this demonstration of flexibility and the sense of compromise has, unfortunately, failed to elicit a similar attitude on the part of the Serbian side, which has not only rejected the plan but also stepped up its acts of aggression with a view to achieving yet more territorial gains and to continuing its pursuit of the unspeakable practice of "ethnic cleansing".

It is quite obvious that things cannot be allowed to go on as they are. It is also clear that the measures taken so far by the Security Council have had only a limited effect. Thus, the time has come for the Council fully to discharge its responsibilities vis-à-vis this tragedy that is troubling the conscience of the whole world.

This presupposes, firstly, the immediate cessation of hostilities throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina and the urgent establishment of safe areas to avoid the recurrence and spread of tragedies like the one that occurred in

(Mr. Hadid, Algeria)

Srebrenica. Secondly, it is necessary for us to consider expanding the mandate and composition of the United Nations Protection Force so that it can effectively carry out its mission to protect the civilian populations that are being subjected to all kinds of outrages and to the practice of "ethnic cleansing".

The time has also come for the Security Council to take every step possible to establish, as a matter of urgency, control over heavy weapons throughout the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and also to monitor all supply lines. We believe that these jobs should of course be carried out by the United Nations.

In the humanitarian field, it is imperative to ensure free access by the aid convoys as well as to put an end to the forced displacement of populations and to ensure that displaced persons can return home in complete safety.

In the final analysis, the inadequate responses of the international community, which have failed to put an end to the aggression and the outrages suffered by the Bosnian people, and the continued deterioration in the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina underline the fact that the arms embargo imposed on that Republic is an anachronism and in practice looks very like the negation of its natural right to self-defence as enshrined in Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations.

The Muslim people of Bosnia, which is with courage and dignity facing up to intolerable savagery, is more than ever entitled to call for reparation before the court of history and to demand the means they need to ensure that it can defend itself.

(Mr. Hadid, Algeria)

The situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina is undeniably a challenge to the credibility of the United Nations - and most particularly this Council. This multidimensional tragedy - which, in addition, may well become the epicentre of a major conflagration that could envelop the entire region, generating unforeseeable consequences - is a test of the capacity of the Security Council to rise effectively to such a challenge by responding to the demands inherent in a crisis the facts of which have been so clearly established. It is our hope that the present debate will contribute to injecting fresh energy into the Security Council so that it may respond to the expectations of the international community as well as of world public opinion, which are watching with indignation the distressing events in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, whose intensity is increasing each day.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Algeria for the kind words he addressed to my predecessor and to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Saudi Arabia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. ALLAGANY (Saudi Arabia) (interpretation from Arabic): At the outset, I should like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. We are confident that you will conduct the Council's business with your well-known knowledge and expertise.

I wish also to thank Ambassador Terence Christopher O'Brien for the effective way in which he conducted the Security Council's business during his presidency last month.

My Government took the initiative, along with the other members of the Contact Group of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, of requesting

(Mr. Allagany, Saudi Arabia)

the convening of the Security Council to discuss the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The world has been witnessing with horror the continuation of Serbian aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina. But it appears that the international community has not fully understood the implications that the barbaric acts committed by the Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina against civilians and other innocent persons could have for the future.

The policy of "ethnic cleansing" practised by the Serbian leaders has gone as far as the practices of what the Nazis called the "final solution". The destruction of cities, the slaughter of civilians, the intimidation of children, the rape of women and children, the killing of old people: all these are not acts of military courage; rather, they demonstrate a degree of barbarism and a set of moral values that will establish another record in the history of mankind. From the pictures we see of the Serbian practices in Bosnia and Herzegovina and from the reports of the group of experts that was sent by the European Community to investigate the rape of Muslim women, we learn that hundreds of thousands of Muslim women have been raped as part of a delilberate and continuing policy designed to achieve "ethnic cleansing". The rapists have killed a large number of Muslim women, including many who were actually only children. Furthermore, Serbian paramilitary units continue to destroy mosques and other religious and cultural places with a view to exterminating the cultural features of the Islamic cities in Bosnia and Herzegovina. They are also preventing the delivery of United Nations humanitarian assistance to the civilians.

It has been clear from the very outset that Serbia and Montenegro has supported the Serbs, causing great material and human loss to the people of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and to their heritage. A few days ago,

(Mr. Allagany, Saudi Arabia)

the Security Council adopted two major resolutions - 819 (1993) and 820 (1993). The declaration of Srebenica and its surroundings as safe areas is an important step towards preventing that city's fall to the Serbian forces. The withdrawal of Serbian paramilitary units from Srebenica and its surroundings should be guaranteed. So should the provision of foodstuffs and medical assistance to the civilians there.

More than three weeks have passed since the Bosnian Muslim party and the Croatian party signed the peace agreement known as the Vance-Owen peace plan. A few days ago, the Security Council adopted resolution 820 (1993), which gave the Serbs nine days to sign the peace plan, and provided that if they did not do so, strengthened sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro would come into effect. The Security Council has once again acknowledged that the intransigence of the leadership of Serbia and Montenegro is the main obstacle to the implementation of the peace agreement. We believe that were it not for the military assistance, including manpower, given by Serbia and Montenegro, the Serbs in Bosnia would have signed the Vance-Owen plan, thereby enabling it to be implemented. We are therefore convinced that resolution 820 (1993) will be effective against Serbia and Montenegro. The complete economic, financial and commercial isolation of Serbia and Montenegro from the rest of the world may convince the Serbian leaders to come to their senses. They are confusing myth with history. They believe that they are invincible, that no one can touch them. Thus, in our opinion, resolution 820 (1993) was adopted in order to bring more pressure to bear so that peace could be achieved.

It should be noted that if the Security Council does not act to impose effective, realistic international control over shipments of heavy weapons, which are possessed only by the Serbs, not much can be achieved through

(Mr. Allagany, Saudi Arabia)

economic sanctions. It would take a long time for economic sanctions to come into effect. Time is of the essence for the innocent civilians in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Security Council must take inmmediate measures to lift the arms embargo against Bosnia and Herzegovina in order to enable the Muslims there to exercise their right to self-defence.

(Mr. Allagany, Saudi Arabia)

The Government of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia calls upon the international community to guarantee the withdrawal of the regular and irregular Serbian forces from the territory of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and to help the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina in every way possible to exercise its right to self-defence. That assistance, whether material, military or moral, is well deserved. We demand that the perpetrators of serious violations of the Fourth Geneva Convention be brought to trial in accordance with the principles and provisions of international law. We also support the people and Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and demand that Serbia and Montenegro pay them adequate and fair compensation for their human and material losses. We hope that the international community will prepare the foundations of a just peace based on legitimacy in accordance with our Islamic religion.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Saudi Arabia for his kind words addressed to my predecessor and to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Malta. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. CAMILLERI (Malta): My delegation welcomes this opportunity to address the Security Council on the tragic events in the region of the former Yugoslavia and especially in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We have every confidence that under your able leadership, Mr. President, the Council will find the necessary courage and wisdom to fulfil the heavy duties that lie before it. On this occasion, my delegation also wishes to recall the impressive manner in which the Council's work was managed under your predecessor, Ambassador Terence O'Brien.

(Mr. Camilleri, Malta)

The events of the past few days around the Bosnian city of Srebrenica have sharply crystallized the moral and political dilemma which the international community has been facing for several months in the former Yugoslavia, a dilemma which arises from the contrast between the immense diplomatic and humanitarian effort being expended and the limited returns being achieved.

As individuals we experience a sense of profound anger and outrage at the continuing suffering and humiliation being inflicted on fellow human beings. As Governments we share a deep concern at the direct challenge to international legality and stability being posed by the cynical disdain with which the most deeply entrenched norms of humanitarian law continue to be flouted. In common with others, the Government of Malta firmly and unequivocally condemns the atrocities which have been committed and continue to be committed in the former Yugoslavia. We denounce the abhorrent policy of "ethnic cleansing". We demand that the acts of agression against defenceless civilians be terminated. We are determined to see that the gross and systematic violations of human rights do not go unpunished.

For over 12 months, the international community has steadfastly and consistently applied its most strenuous diplomatic and humanitarian efforts to bring about a peaceful settlement to the problems of the former Yugoslavia. In the process, the United Nations has put into place its largest peace-keeping operation ever. The humanitarian agencies have mounted one of their most massive and continuous programmes of assistance. The regional organizations, the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) and the European Community, have deployed major efforts in coordination with the United Nations. Individual nations have donated significant human and material resources. A peace plan has been engendered which has won the active

(Mr. Camilleri, Malta)

support of the whole international community, with the exception of the Serb parties to the conflict.

A series of Security Council and General Assembly resolutions have been adopted. Sanctions have been applied against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) and have been progressively reinforced. Measures have been initiated to establish a criminal tribunal to consider the humanitarian crimes which are being committed. A no-fly zone has been imposed and military action to enforce it has been authorized. Yet, at the end of all these efforts, we witness the latest events around Srebrenica, events which underline the fact that all the best efforts of the international community have yet to prevail in bringing sanity and legality back to that region engulfed in tragedy.

In the midst of our justified dismay and frustration that so much effort has not yet achieved its principal objective, we first must remember and salute the heroic efforts of those who have been bearing the brunt of the tragedy - in the first place, the innocent civilians of Bosnia and Herzegovina: the women who have been raped, children who have been mutilated, old people who have been uprooted, and persons of all ages who have been massacred. We also remember and salute those serving in the field: the troops of various nations and the officials from the many humanitarian agencies who at great personal risk persist in seeking and sometimes realizing some measure of relief even in the midst of all the suffering and bitterness. We must also express our deep appreciation of the painstaking efforts of the two Co-Chairmen of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, whose patience and diplomatic skills have been instrumental in preserving an element of hope in an otherwise desperate situation.

(Mr. Camilleri, Malta)

In taking stock of this situation today, we realize that the international community continues to be challenged on two major fronts: in its efforts to protect the inhabitants of Bosnia and Herzegovina and in its efforts to assert the validity and credibility of the international institutions entrusted with safeguarding humanitarian behaviour and international legality. A number of ideas have been suggested over the months in connection with the need to provide a greater measure of protection to the inhabitants of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The time has perhaps come when some of these ideas should be given detailed consideration.

Resolution 47/121, adopted by the General Assembly on 18 December last year, urges the Security Council to consider both the use of all necessary means to uphold and restore the sovereignty, political independence, territorial integrity and unity of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as the possibility of exempting the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina from the arms embargo imposed on the former Yugoslavia. In its resolution 758 (1992) of 8 June 1992, the Security Council refers to the establishment of a security zone encompassing Sarajevo and its airport, and the idea of a security zone, this time in Srebrenica, again appears in last Friday's resolution 819 (1993).

My Government takes the view that the idea of establishing security zones around selected areas of Bosnia and Herzegovina constitutes in the present circumstances a justified and, indeed, necessary measure of protection for the inhabitants of that country. In a joint letter with the Foreign Minister of Slovenia addressed to CSCE member States last November, my Foreign Minister formally proposed:

(Mr. Camilleri, Malta)

"Concrete and energetic action by the United Nations in coordination with the CSCE, through major concentration of UNPROFOR, to establish and protect a 'cordon sanitaire' around Sarajevo and other cities in Bosnia and Herzegovina".

The experience of Srebrenica reinforces our belief that timely action in deploying a resonable number of United Nations peace-keeping troops in sensitive areas as a measure in the creation of security zones could help to prevent a continued worsening of dangerous and critical situations. This would in turn provide some additional space for diplomatic efforts towards a peaceful settlement to be pursued.

All members of the international community are painfully aware that, if the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina fails to improve, progressively more forceful measures would have to be employed. The viability and credibility of the whole concept of the new international order rests upon this assumption. For a small country like Malta, which bases its security upon the notion of regional and international stability and legality, it is imperative that the institutions entrusted with safeguarding this stability and legality assert their authority.

(Mr. Camilleri, Malta)

It is in this spirit that my Government pledges its full commitment to the efforts which are being undertaken by the international community to bring peace to the former Yugoslavia. We take this opportunity to reiterate our commitment to fully support and to take all necessary measures to ensure the implementation of decisions taken by the Security Council to bring an end to the many violations of the right to life and other fundamental human rights which the international community is witnessing in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Malta for the kind words addressed to my predecessor and to me.

In accordance with the decision taken at the 3201st meeting, I now invite Ambassador Dragomir Djokić to take a place at the Council table and to make a statement.

Mr. DJOKIĆ: Instead of meeting to consider the tragic situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina in its efforts to bring lasting peace to its peoples, the Security Council has succumbed to pressures for the staging of a general debate on this issue whose sole aim is apparently to condemn only one side. Moreover, we see no purpose to this debate since the Council has already adopted a series of new punitive measures against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia which can in no way contribute to achieving the goal of a just and durable peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Those measures are primarily directed at the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia which is not a party to the civil war in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In doing so, the Security Council has disregarded the reports of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) and of the Secretary-General and has ignored the information provided by the Serbs from Bosnia. In that way, an inaccurate picture of the situation in Bosnia is being portrayed and, consequently, one-sided resolutions are adopted at an accelerated pace.

(Mr. Djokić)

The Council has in the course of the crisis and conflict in Bosnia and Hersegovina acted very often under the erroneous assumption that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is responsible for the outbreak of war and that it can fundamentally influence the Bosnian Serbs to accept elements of the peace plan which they find contrary to their vital interests.

Resolution 820 (1993) continues arbitrarily to condemn the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia for its alleged involvement in the crisis in Bosnia and Hersegovina, although it is evident that Yugoslavia cannot be responsible for either the outbreak or the continuation of the bloodshed in Bosnia and Hersegovina. What is at stake is an ethnic, religious and civil war in which the three nations making up Bosnia and Hersegovina - namely, Muslims, Serbs and Croats - are taking part. Such a war in Bosnia and Hersegovina is best exemplified by the ongoing fierce fighting between the Muslim and Croat forces in Bosnia and Hersegovina with heavy losses on both sides despite their agreement on military cooperation and joint military activities.

It has been stated on numerous occasions that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has no territorial claims on any of its neighbours, as was confirmed by the Declaration adopted by the Federal Assembly when the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was constituted on 27 April 1992. Ever since May 1992, not a single soldier of the Yugoslav army remains in the territory of Bosnia and Hersegovina, while at the same time 40,000 to 50,000 Croatian troops have occupied parts of Bosnia and Hersegovina. This was also confirmed in the report of the Secretary-General. Despite these facts, however, the international community in a relentless campaign continues to label Yugoslavia as the aggressor and calls for its punishment and isolation.

(Mr. Djokić)

Yugoslavia is vitally interested and fully committed to bringing an end to the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina by peaceful means and dialogue. The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has invested great efforts to facilitate the peace process. We have accepted all the decisions and principles of the London Conference and supported the Vance-Owen plan as a basis for ending the civil war and the suffering of all three nations.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has cooperated fully with the two co-Chairmen during the peace negotiations and has offered its good offices.

With a view to achieving a just and lasting solution, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has called for observers to be stationed at all its airports and along the borders between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as between Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina; proposed a normalization of mutual relations with the former Yugoslav Republics, but there was no response; took peace initiatives on a number of occasions and launched humanitarian actions; and permitted and assisted passage of humanitarian aid convoys for Bosnia and Herzegovina; and it is taking care of close to 700,000 refugees from Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, among them 50,000 Muslims and 15,000 Croats.

Unfortunately, in that resolution and in previous resolutions, the Security Council has totally ignored the positive role of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia by persistently treating it as a party to the conflict that should be punished.

The Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and its people unreservedly condemned the abhorrent crime of "ethnic cleansing" by whomever it was committed and wherever it occurred. We have strongly opposed the holding of ethnic hostages, the shelling of cities, especially Sarajevo, and the destruction of villages, infrastructure, churches and cultural monuments.

(Mr. Djokić)

Despite our efforts, the Serbian population in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in the United Nations protected areas were for the past several months subjected to relentless attacks and aggression. On 22 January 1993, the territory of Krajina, under the protection and presence of the United Nations, was flagrantly attacked by Croatian forces in clear violation of the Vance-Owen plan. Despite the demands contained in resolution 802 (1993), those attacks have continued unabated and most recently have even been intensified. No action was taken by the Security Council.

The Muslim and Croatian forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina have continued their campaign of terror and provocation. During the offensive that was launched in January 1993, numerous Serbian villages were destroyed in eastern Bosnia and more than 1,200 Serbs, primarily children, women and elderly people, were murdered. That did not draw the attention of the world media or that of the Security Council.

In their efforts to provoke foreign military intervention and involve the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the war, Muslim forces have even gone so far as to attack the territory and population of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia itself. Our constant appeals to stop Muslim and Croatian aggression were not heeded by the Security Council. For its part, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia exerted maximum restraint and kept its response to the lowest possible level.

(Mr. Djokić)

Horrible crimes and atrocities have been committed by all warring parties on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. Those responsible for war crimes and violations of humanitarian law should be brought to justice. In that regard, the Government of Yugoslavia supports and is cooperating with the Commission of Experts established by resolution 780 (1992). With the facts distorted and ignored, however, a false picture has been projected: that the Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in the United Nations protected areas are the only culprits. Putting the blame solely on the Serbs and demonizing the Serbian nation as a whole will not, however, help resolve the conflict, as there can be no winners in the civil war in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

From the outset of the crisis and the outbreak of hostilities on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, the history of the region and the root causes of the underlying tensions have been seriously underestimated. In hasty attempts to address the crisis, the European Community, and later the international community as a whole, made a series of grave mistakes with far-reaching conseqneuces. It is now generally recognized that the premature recognition of former Yugoslav republics before an overall political settlement was reached triggered the civil war. Numerous statements by leading political figures including Lord Carrington, Mr. Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen give clear evidence of this. In an unprecedented train of events in the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, secession was rewarded, with priority given to internal borders fashioned in an arbitrary and undemocratic manner over external, internationally recognized, ones. The international community had in a matter of months accepted and even encouraged

(Mr. Djokić)

the breakup of Yugoslavia, a founding Member of the United Nations. The right to self-determination of Slovenes, Croats and Muslims was honoured, while the same right was denied to the Serbs.

The Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina are not aggressors. They are fighting for their survival on their own land, where they have lived for centuries.

Yugoslavia has endeavoured to play a constructive role throughout the peace talks on the former Yugoslavia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. In Geneva and here in New York we have spared no effort in assisting the Co-Chairmen in their search for a viable solution and an end to the hostilities and suffering. It is well known that the leadership of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republics of Serbia and Montenegro played a very important role in facilitating acceptance by the Bosnian Serbs of significance elements of the peace plan.

In assisting the peace process we were inspired by the basic premise that there can be no lasting solution unless it takes into account the vital interests of all three constituent peoples in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Nor can a just peace be established by forcibly imposing it on any of the parties.

Unfortunately, in the final elaboration of the Vance-Owen plan insufficient efforts were exerted to ensure full equality. The maps that were drawn up and are now being imposed are not wholly acceptable to the Bosnian Serbs because they are unjust and jeopardize the existential interests of the Serbs while clearly favouring Croatian and Muslim interests. The plan is seen as unacceptable by the Bosnian Serbs as it unjustly divides the area and its mineral resources, energy potential and industrial infrastructure, and does not correspond to the ethnic composition of the population.

(Mr. Djokić)

A deadline given as an ultimatum to the Serbs in Bosnia to accept and sign the Vance-Owen peace plan in its entirety runs counter to the conclusions of the Geneva negotiations and the adopted principles that agreement would be sought on the basis of consensus among all three constituent peoples and that no solution would be imposed.

The question now arises: What is the motive behind ignoring the adopted principles? Is it to seek an end to the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina or to seek an excuse for the perpetuation and stepping up of pressure against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia with a view to achieving other ends?

The international community is holding the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia hostage to the Bosnian Serbs, Muslims and Croats. The conviction that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Serbia can order the Serbs in Bosnia to accept something that is a threat to their survival and that the Bosnian Serbs are ready to obey orders from Belgrade is illusory and false. We are advising them, and we are doing our utmost in that regard, but we cannot order people - who are dying and sacrificing everything they have in order to survive on their land - to capitulate.

We share the concern and impatience of the international community and fully understand the responsibility of the Security Council in its effort to reinstate peace and security in the region as a whole. That, however, cannot be achieved by isolating one side and by exerting unprecedented pressure and imposing new sanctions on the people of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, although it is not a party to the conflict, with the aim of implementing unjust solutions that cannot last.

(Mr. Djokić)

It would be unfortunate indeed if the peace process, which has already yielded tangible results, were discontinued. We believe that negotiations should be urgently resumed, as there are possibilities, particularly through direct talks by the parties concerned, for agreeing on pending issues if necessary revisions are made to accommodate all sides.

We are confident that the tireless efforts of the Co-Chairmen, Mr. Vance and Lord Owen, have not been to no avail, and that there is potential for the continuation of the negotiation process. We appreciate Mr. Vance's contribution very much, and we look forward to working closely with his successor, Mr. Stoltenberg.

Yugoslavia has spared no effort in searching for a just and lasting solution to the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We have fully cooperated with the special envoys - Deputy Foreign Minister of the Russian Federation, Mr. Vitaly Churkin, and Ambassador Reginald Bartholomew of the United States of America - in their endeavours.

The Security Council has decided on a series of inhumane and totally unjustified measures whose aim is to tighten the noose and strangle the people of my country regardless of the fact that humanitarian law and rules do not recognize collective punishment. The sanctions violate fundamental human rights, punishing innocent people and leaving them without medicine, food and other elementary goods to keep them alive. With those sanctions the Security Council is making the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia into a concentration camp, punishing the Serbian people as a whole, which is an attempt to commit the third genocide in that people's history. This is not a series of technical

(Mr. Djokić)

and economic measures; it is practically a death sentence proclaimed by the Security Council on a whole people. The first victims have already been struck down as a consequence of the present sanctions: newborn babies are dying in the hospitals because of the lack of medicines and instruments.

As it strives further to increase the economic sanctions, isolation and collective punishment of the people of Yugoslavia, the Security Council will add to the tragedy that has befallen the people of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The sanctions trample upon numerous international conventions on human rights, and all Yugoslavs have been demonized and turned into pariahs.

(Mr. Djokić)

While seeking to avert the ongoing tragedy and suffering of the innocent victims of the civil war in Bosnia and Herzegovina by imposing and now expanding sanctions, the Security Council is inflicting hardships and suffering on all citizens of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, who can in no way be responsible for the war in their vicinity. The most vulnerable segment of the population in Yugoslavia - children, the sick, the elderly and the frail - are those hardest hit.

The isolation of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the quarantine imposed on its people cannot lead to peace; it can only contribute to the ruining of a whole nation, the creation of more hotbeds of crisis, social and national destruction in the territory of the former Yugoslavia and the destabilization of the entire Balkan region. The closing of the international waterway and the prohibition of navigation on the Danube is itself a measure which poses a great danger to the region as a whole. The introduction of new punitive measures can only cause more innocent victims, suffering and instability.

However, further sanctions cannot objectively stop the civil war in Bosnia and Herzegovina and bring us any closer to a just and lasting peace. This is best evidenced in the period since the sanctions were imposed nearly a year ago. The efforts that Yugoslavia has undertaken to facilitate the peace process are the result not of pressure and sanctions, but of genuine interest that peace should prevail in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in the territories of the former Yugoslavia.

The Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia had sought to bring about a peaceful solution to the crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina, ever since its beginning, on the basis of respect for the legitimate interests of all three peoples and their consensus on the form of their life together. In that

(Mr. Djokić)

context, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has supported the Vance-Owen plan as a useful basis for further negotiations aimed at achieving a consensus on the proposed maps.

The Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia accords absolute priority to immediate and unconditional cessation of the military conflict and to the continuation of the negotiations on a peace plan for Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Yugoslav Government is convinced that the remaining contentious issues related to the proposed maps can be resolved and that they should not put the peace process in jeopardy. To this effect, the Government supported the appeal of the Bileća Assembly to the international community to help organize a bilateral meeting between the warring parties and offered its hospitality and good offices for early, direct negotiations between Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Muslims and between Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats.

It is evident that lasting peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina cannot be achieved by imposing non-negotiable solutions on the parties involved. Undoubtedly, certain elements of the existing plan do not accommodate the interests of all sides. The only way to reinstate peace is patiently and tenaciously to continue negotiations so that the vital interests of all three nations are taken into account and agreement is reached by consensus. In that process, Yugoslavia should be seen as a partner rather than as an adversary.

As was stated by the Government of Yugoslavia on 18 April of this year, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia remains fully committed to the policy of peace and to overcoming the crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina by political means, on the basis of equal respect for the legitimate rights of all three constituent peoples. In that regard, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will

(Mr. Djokić)

continue to cooperate closely with the United Nations and its representatives. However, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will firmly defend its sovereignty and territorial integrity if forced to do so.

The PRESIDENT: The next name inscribed on the list of speakers is that of the representative of Ireland. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. COLLINS (Ireland): I should like, Mr. President, to associate my delegation with the remarks made in relation to your eminent personage and well-known competence. I should like also to say the same about your predecessor, Ambassador Terence O'Brien.

We are assembled here today to discuss the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. I shall in a moment make a number of points on that matter on the instructions of my Government. Before doing so, however, I should like to give a thematic introduction to my remarks by quoting my fellow countryman, the poet W. B. Yeats, who wrote much on the subject of civil strife. He said as follows:

"Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold;
Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world,
The blood-dimmed tide is loosed, and everywhere
The ceremony of innocence is drowned
The best lack all conviction, while the worst
Are full of passionate intensity." (The Second Coming, W.B. Yeats)

There have been signs in recent days that the best - that is, the international community - are about to demonstrate some conviction in relation to Bosnia and Herzegovina. Resolution 820 (1993), adopted on Saturday night, and this debate are testimony to that fact.

(Mr. Collins, Ireland)

I am grateful to the Security Council for providing me with the opportunity to put on record the views of the Government of Ireland on the situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

My Government fully shares the concerns which prompted the Non-Aligned members of the Security Council to seek this debate. It would be unconscionable were this appalling human tragedy, this grave threat to international peace and security, not addressed in the Security Council by the overall membership of the United Nations.

It is not necessary to describe in detail the nature of the horrors that we are witnessing in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The facts are well known to all. They stand as an affront to the international community. It is a litany of barbarism and inhumanity unequalled in Europe since the Second World War. It is, as the Tanaiste and Deputy Prime Minister of Ireland, Mr. Dick Spring, described it recently in the Irish Parliament,

> "... the carnage and sheer brutality which we have witnessed in recent weeks at Srebrenica and other Muslim towns in eastern Bosnia. It is almost beyond belief that whole communities of innocent people can be shelled, starved and held hostage in the pursuit of military and political objectives."

The brutality and atrocities which we have witnessed serve to underline one basic fact: our objective of securing a comprehensive and durable settlement to the conflict in former Yugoslavia, but more immediately in Bosnia and Herzegovina, will only be realized through the determined resolve and the collective efforts of the international community.

To this end, Ireland is playing its part with its European Community partners, at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and here at the United Nations. The International Conference, under the skilful

(Mr. Collins, Ireland)

leadership of its Co-Chairmen, has developed a viable plan for Bosnia and Herzegovina. It has been accepted by two of the Bosnian parties.

We must, at this late stage, spare no effort to secure the agreement of the Bosnian Serbs. In this regard, my Government warmly welcomes the adoption by the Security Council of resolution 820 (1993). We welcome in particular the support which it has given to the peace plan, its condemnation of "ethnic cleansing" and its reaffirmation that those who commit or direct the rape of women will be held individually responsible for their actions.

But, most immediately, my Government very much welcomes the fact that the Security Council has acted decisively to provide for the total isolation of Serbia and Montenegro, should the Bosnian Serbs fail to sign the peace plan, begin its implementation and cease their military attacks by 26 April. The measures to isolate Serbia and Montenegro are Draconian. They have not been taken lightly.

(Mr. Collins, Ireland)

The authorities in Belgrade face a stark choice: they can ensure that the peace plan is accepted, implemented and an end brought to the fighting; or, they can decided to condemn Serbia and Montenegro to the hardship which will follow unprecedented isolation, the price of the callous pursuit of military and political objectives in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

My Government would have wished that the Security Council could have acted earlier to present this stark choice to the Bosnian Serbs and to Belgrade. We also welcome, however, the fact that that the Security Council has, in its resolution 819 (1993) of 16 April, demanded that Srebrenica and its surroundings be treated as a safe area which should be free from armed attack, following the murderous onslaught which its inhabitants have suffered in recent months. We welcome the fact that the Security Council has condemned the action of the Bosnian Serbs in trying to force the civilian population to evacuate the Srebrenica area and other parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The respect for the implementation of resolution 819 (1993) in forthcoming days will demonstrate the degree to which the Bosnian Serbs are willing to abide by the decisions of the Council.

The basic approach of Irish foreign policy is that international conflicts should be resolved by negotiation rather than by military means. However, having set ourselves the task of ending this appalling conflict through the instruments of negotiation and pressure, we in Ireland, and the international community at large, share a profound sense of frustration and outrage at the ongoing violence and bloodshed. What is happening in Bosnia and Herzegovina is an affront to all civilised values and is a direct challenge to the authority of the United Nations and to the Security Council.

I should like to underline the following position of my Goverment: if

(Mr. Collins, Ireland)

the efforts of the international community to find a negotiated solution fail, the Security Council will need to consider all the options open to it under the United Nations Charter.

I profoundly hope that the Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in Belgrade will reflect on the consequences of rejecting the peace package and, by cooperating with the United Nations and the European Community, obviate the need for the consideration by the Security Council of enforcement measures under Chapter VII of the Charter.

The suffering in Bosnia and Herzegovina must be brought to an end. The authorities in Belgrade have the power to realize this. At this critical moment, we look to the Security Council for decisive leadership and firm action to achieve this goal.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Ireland for his kind words addressed to my predecessor and to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Albania. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. SHKURTI (Albania): I extend my congratulations to you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the current month. Your personal accomplishments and your talents as a wise diplomat have already been reflected in the work of this Council. At the same time, I present my compliments and thanks to your predecessor, Ambassador O'Brien of New Zealand, for his admirable expertise in guiding the work of the Security Council during last month.

The Albanian delegation attaches great importance to this open meeting of the Security Council, being convinced that it will, hopefully, make a substantial contribution to the solution of a very serious and urgent problem, that of putting an end to the bloody war in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

(Mr. Shkurti, Albania)

The Republic of Albania is particularly concerned about the conflict there, for that conflict is playing havoc with human lives. The war has been accompanied by a large number of crimes: thousands of Muslim women raped and murdered; the mass destruction of houses; and the forcible displacement of people. And all this with the obvious aim of creating ethnically pure Serbian areas. "Ethnic cleansing", carried out through force of arms against the Muslims, has assumed enormous proportions. A great number of cities in Bosnia and Herzegovina are being kept besieged, and their suffering populations kept hostage. Serbian paramilitary units are terrorizing Muslim civilians; Srebrenica is a sad example of this. Now there is no longer any doubt that the Serbs of Bosnia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia bear exclusive responsibility.

The Serbs of Bosnia continue to refuse the peace plan suggested by Lord Owen and Mr. Cyrus Vance, which has already been accepted by both Muslims and Croats at a time when Serbia and Montenegro are cynically talking about their so-called peaceful efforts in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Albania has decisively joined the international community in an endeavour to find a just and rapid solution to the crisis, and it urges that the leaders of the Serbs of Bosnia accept the peace plan; if they do not, they should be forced to do so. It is to be regretted that peaceful efforts have so far proved of no avail.

Also, matters being as they are, Albania expresses its legitimate concern about a possible overspill of the war into nearby Kosova and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. That is why Albania has given its full support to Security Council resolution 816 (1993) on enforcement of the no-fly zone over Bosnia, and also to resolutions 819 and 820 (1993), and has welcomed

(Mr. Shkurti, Albania)

the commitment of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization to enforcing the ban on flights over Bosnia in compliance with resolution 816 (1993). It has also welcomed Security Council resolution 808 (1993) concerning war crimes in the former Yugoslavia, and calls for those responsible for the crimes to be brought to trial immediately.

Furthermore, my country gives full support to the declaration of the European Community and its member States of 5 April 1993, which stresses that the time has come to take specific steps to tighten sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro. The Republic of Albania attaches particular importance to the fact that the Security Council is dealing with a draft resolution whose aim is just that - to tighten sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia - and which would, in the long run, lead to the Bosnian Serbs accepting the peace plan. But, to our regret, the adoption of the draft resolution is being postponed, leaving the door open to further atrocities.

It is our hope that a resolution providing for the immediate cessation of the war, for sanctions - particularly economic sanctions - against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) to be tightened, and for the heavy weapons of all the belligerents to be put under effective control will be adopted without further delay.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Albania for his kind words addressed to my predecessor and to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Denmark. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. HAAKONSEN (Denmark): Denmark appreciates this opportunity to participate in the Security Council's debate on the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The policy of my country on this question is the policy of the European Community, of which Denmark currently hold the presidency.

The Twelve have consistently worked for a peaceful, political and comprehensive solution to the present conflict.

Four weeks ago, when the European Community and its member States warmly commended the decision of the Bosnian Government to sign the Vance-Owen peace plan, we said we would seek further measures against the Serbs if they refused to accept the plan. We therefore welcome the fact that the Security Council on 17 April adopted resolution 820 (1993) imposing strong additional measures on Serbia and Montenegro if the Serbs do not sign the peace plan and stop their military aggression by 26 April.

The European Community would rather have seen this resolution adopted immediately after President Izetbegovic signed the peace plan. But we understand why the resolution was delayed, although we regret it. We deplore the use made by the Serb side of the delay. Instead of working towards acceptance of the Vance-Owen plan and a peaceful solution, the Serbs have moved farther away from it. Instead of stopping their aggression, they moved towards Srebrenica, causing terrible suffering there. If the Bosnian Serbs and the Serbs in Belgrade, where the ultimate decisions are made, do not reverse their behaviour, they will have brought upon themselves the strong measures in Security Council resolution 820 (1993).

Denmark, along with the other States members of the European Community, has given full and unequivocal support to the Vance-Owen plan. We believe that it represents a fair, balanced and viable settlement for Bosnia and Herzegovina, that it takes into account the legitimate interests of the three

(Mr. Haaksonsen, Denmark)

communities in the Republic, and that it is the only alternative to a continuation of a war in which there can only be losers. The lifting of the arms embargo, more weapons, escalation of violence, and more killing are not the answer - are not compatible with the cessation of hostilities envisaged in the Vance-Owen plan. Too many lives have been lost already.

The Twelve have repeatedly stated that a negotiated settlement is the only solution. And the Vance-Owen plan remains the only basis for this. It is the result of months of untiring efforts and tough negotiations by the two co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the joint European Community-United Nations International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia. I should like to pay a tribute to Mr. Vance and Lord Owen for the skill, the commitment and the sheer hard work they have brought to bear on their formidable task.

Denmark firmly believes that the time for full commitment to the Vance-Owen plan is now. We and other European Community member States have committed troops and millions of dollars in humanitarian assistance to the war-ridden population in Bosnia. Soldiers, voluntary drivers, monitors, aid workers, doctors and nurses are doing a tremendous job under very difficult circumstances. We have done this in the cause of peace. And we shall continue to press all sides to commit themsleves to peace. We are discouraged by the renewed fighting between Muslims and Croats in central Bosnia.

We utterly condemn the Serb offensive in eastern Bosnia and the Serbs' rejection of the peace plan. If the Serb position is unchanged on 26 April, the Serbs will immediately feel the full weight of the strengthened international sanctions. The European Community has already made preparations for these to be applied as intensely as possible, and for as long as it takes for the decision-makers in Serbia and the Bosnian Serbs to come to their senses.

(Mr. Haaksonsen, Denmark)

The message to the Serbs is clear, just as their choice is clear: they can either cooperate or be subject to further, tough sanctions leading to the total international isolation of Serbia and Montenegro for years to come.

Denmark and the European Community hope and expect that President Milosevic will realize that this is too high a price to pay for continued aggression in Bosnia and Herzegovina. And we strongly urge the leader of the Bosnian Serbs, Mr. Radovan Karadzic, to sign the Vance-Owen plan now. This will be the only way to the restoration of peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The only way back to integration into the international community for Serbia and Montenegro and for the gradual lifting of sanctions is acceptance of the peace plan as a whole and full and effective cooperation on implementation of all of its elements.

The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Sierra Leone. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. KOROMA (Sierra Leone): If the events unfolding in Bosnia and Herzegovina today were intended merely to mock the Security Council, if the events unfolding in Bosnia and Herzegovina today were intended to challenge the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, if the outrages being perpetrated today in Bosnia and Herzegovina were intended merely to send shock waves through the conscience of the international community, then perhaps the tragedy could be tolerated by this Council.

But, alas, what we are witnessing in Bosnia and Herzegovina today is not merely tragic; we are not only witnessing the anguish and suffering of a people. What we are witnessing also engages the fundamental principle and precept of this Organization - that is, the non-use of force against the

(Mr. Koroma, Sierra Leone)

sovereignty and territorial integrity of a Member State of the Organization. Furthermore, what we are witnessing fundamentally engages the principles of human rights, including the right to life and the dignity and worth of the human person.

Today, as the world watches, aggression and genocide are being committed in Bosnia and Herzegovina with impunity. Thereby, not only are the principles of the Charter of this Organization being mocked and openly violated, but the credibility of the Security Council is being seriously undermined.

We are indeed aware that the Council has taken some measures to put an and to such flagrant violations of international law as those being perpetrated in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We are indeed aware that the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) has been deployed in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We salute all those who are serving in that peace-keeping force on behalf of the international community for their courage - in particular General Morillon, whom we applaud for his efforts to save the lives of those hapless people of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

We are also aware, of course, of the efforts made by certain European States to stem the tide of events in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We are aware of the declared intention of President Clinton to put a stop to the atrocities being committed in Bosnia and Herzegovina today. We are aware of the intention of the Clinton Administration. If only that Administration could carry the rest of the membership of the Security Council with it to engage the criminals in Bosnia and Herzegovina today.

(Mr. Koroma, Sierra Leone)

We applaud the Clinton Administration and call upon the American people to act on behalf of the international community to put an end to the travesty that is taking place in Bosnia and Herzegovina today, despite the unwillingness of certain members of the Security Council, perhaps not through malice but for other reasons, to act in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

So what we are witnessing in Bosnia and Herzegovina is not the failure of individual actions. As we see it, it is the failure of the Council to act collectively: to rise to its responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. And that is why we are speaking before this Council: to call on the Security Council to rise to its responsibility as the custodian of international peace and security and to put an end to the human suffering that is taking place in Bosnia and Herzegovina today.

That is our purpose in coming here. We do not come here to address the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina in terms of religion. We refuse to accept that the perpetrators of crimes in Bosnia and Herzegovina are acting in the name of any biblical injunction. I think that would be a travesty of Christianity - or of any religion, for that matter. We refuse to see this struggle in terms of Muslims and Christians. What we are observing in Bosnia and Herzegovina is man's inhumanity to man and certain motivations of territorial aggrandizement. It is the responsibility of the Security Council to put a stop to such ill intentions and motivations.

Seven months ago, when the President of my country addressed the General Assembly, he stated that:

> "What the world continues to witness in the former Yugoslavia defies human comprehension. The gravity and consequences of that war are reminiscent of conduct that the world had wished was only a memory." (A/47/PV.9, pp. 39-40)

(Mr. Koroma, Sierra Leone)

He went on to call for an end to hostilities and the resolution of the conflict by peaceful means. Similar calls have been made repeatedly by peace-loving people all over the world who, mindful of the long twilight of uncertainty they endured during the cold war, had hoped - indeed, had expected - that nations, large and small, would at last demonstrate a scrupulous adherence to the obligations they had assumed under the Charter of this Organization. Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Member States and the outlawing of aggression are guiding principles which shape and direct the policies of modern nations. They remain eternal, enduring as assurance for the security and protection of all States, and particularly Members of this Organization.

Since that call was made by my Head of State some seven months ago, all of us have become unwilling spectators to a growing tragedy as the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina continue to pay the ultimate price for daring to aspire to the ideals of freedom and self-determination enshrined in the Charter of our Organization. My country feels deeply the plight of the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina, victims of aggression and genocide.

We talk about "ethnic cleansing", running away from what has been adumbrated and given imprimatur since 1949. I am referring to the genocide Convention. It is there in the books. Instead of calling things by their name, the Council speaks of "ethnic cleansing" because we know that certain responsibilities flow from any commission of the act of genocide. So why do we talk about "ethnic cleansing" when we know full well that we are talking about an act which is being perpetrated against the conscience of the international community and the conscience of mankind? We are talking about aggression and genocide, two of the worst offences in the book. It is

(Mr. Koroma, Sierra Leone)

therefore for the Council, the sole responsibility of which is the maintenance of international peace and security, and which is responsible for protecting the rights and dignity and lives of humans, to rise to the occasion and take its responsibilities seriously.

As a consequence of the Serbs' pursuit of their territorial ambitions, the crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina has deepened. Massacres, rapes, concentration camps - we have all been living witnesses of these and have seen them on our televisions - have been instruments with which the war has been pursued in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We have witnessed the gravest violations of humanitarian law in recent times, as the President of the International Committee of the Red Cross recently reminded us, in addition to the wholesale displacement of communities within Bosnia and Herzegovina itself. The international community has not failed to condemn these unspeakable acts of barbarism and genocide, committed by agents who harbour the false belief that the world will remain indifferent to those atrocities.

Equally serious and intensive efforts have been made to bring peace to the situation, to put an end to the carnage, and to minimize the prospect of escalation. This Council's imposition of sanctions, the deployment of the United Nations Protection Force, the institution of an arms embargo and the ban of flights over the airspace of Bosnia and Herzegovina were all designed to effect a speedy resolution of the conflict. Even the formula proposed by former Secretary of State Vance and former Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs Lord Owen, with all its misgivings, carried similar expectations that at the end of the day the suffering of the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina and our common humanity would prevent a further escalation of this conflict and bring it to an end.

(Mr. Koroma, Sierra Leone)

Yet this objective has not been realized, as the international community's will continues to be flouted. Town after town and one village after another falls to the guns of the aggressors, who have demonstrated their blatant disregard for the principles of international law and their utter disrespect for the norms of international law and civilized behaviour. Even as I speak here, the slaughter of the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina continues.

The Sierra Leone delegation remains convinced that the international community, representing the conscience of humanity, cannot fail to be moved by the cries of pain and anguish raised by mothers and children who mourn daily for husbands and fathers they will never see again, for values they will never regain, and for homes to which they may never return. Neither can we allow the violence of this conflict to paralyze us nor should we preside with indifference over what amounts to an attempt to extinguish a Member State. Bosnia and Herzegovina must not be allowed to become extinct.

It is now clear that time is running out for the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Every day that passes brings closer the achievement of the goal of Serbian aggression and undermines further the victims' belief that the United Nations will act vigorously in defence of their rights. This faith should not become another casualty of this conflict. Much as the courage and fortitude of the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina are admired, their struggle to live the lives they have chosen for themselves should not be seen as an isolated event the outcome of which has no consequences for our own existence. If we allow the State of Bosnia and Herzegovina to become extinct, the world will be the poorer for it. The genocide being perpetrated against the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina makes us all the poorer.

(Mr. Koroma, Sierra Leone)

We are all in the same boat. We cannot turn a blind eye and say that the atrocities are being committed in a far-away land. I come from Africa, a long way from Bosnia and Herzegovina, but we share a common identity and a common humanity with the people of that country, and that is why we have asked to speak before the Council today. On the contrary, we will not remain unchanged by this experience, for it violates the precepts on which this Organization was established, and it calls to mind the words of a contemporary statesman:

> "History teaches perhaps few clear lessons. But surely one such lesson learned by the world at great cost is that aggression unopposed becomes a contagious disease."

We have seen this in the past. Therefore, it is the view of the Sierra Leone delegation that this Council should seize this moment to exercise its responsibility and its authority as the custodian of international peace and security, to put an end to this tragedy and restore the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and to stop the genocide that is being played out in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

(Mr. Koroma, Sierra Leone)

We expect that the Council's deliberations will result in the adoption and implementation of measures from which the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina will draw strength and succour, and we hope that the world has not turned its back on them.

Today the blood of countless victims of agression calls out for justice from the Council - that the crimes perpetrated against them should not go unpunished. We must hearken to their cries, if only to avoid debasing the members' time and the debate which is taking place in the Council. Whether it be the tightening of sanctions, the establishment of a war crimes tribunal or some sort of military option we are convinced that only the forceful and unequivocal action that this crisis demands of the Council - that is, the use of all necessary measures - can halt the carnage taking place in Bosnia and Herzegovina today. We remain hopeful that the Council will rise to its responsibility, that the Council will share our concern as a small State.

I cannot end without congratulating you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. We have every confidence that, under your able direction, the Council will continue to be actively engaged in discharging its responsibilities for the maintenance of international peace and security. We have already seen evidence of that and we applaud you. We are encouraged by the role you are playing in the Council.

We would also like to convey our appreciation to your predecessor, Ambassador Terence O'Brien of New Zealand, for the consummate skill with which he guided the Council's deliberations last month.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Sierra Leone for his kind words addressed to my predecessor and to me.

(The President)

The next speaker is the representative of Argentina. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. CARDENAS (Argentina) (interpretation from Spanish): I should like to thank you, Sir, for your able leadership and guidance of these meetings as President of the Council. I also want to thank the Security Council for the opportunity that these meetings provide my country to express its opinion on this question.

The Government of the Republic of Argentina has expressed in the past and now wishes to reiterate its condemnation of the grave violations of human rights and of the rights of minorities systematically occurring in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The attacks on the civilian population cannot fail to provoke the most clear-cut repudiation of the intolerance that causes them. Our concern has grown week after week in direct proportion to the atrocities. The news and the images that reach us fill us with profound sadness and legitimate concern.

The International Court of Justice itself - the guardian of the legality of the international order - has just alerted us to the need to avoid genocide, a crime against the dignity of the human being which entails the responsibility of States and individuals alike.

The level of barbarity that we recently witnessed in Srebrenica cannot go on with impunity, nor can the massive deportations and forced expulsions of the civilian population, the deliberate attacks on non-combatants, hospitals and ambulances, or the repeated interruptions in the flow of medical supplies, food and other humanitarian assistance. All of this is an affront to our conscience and constitutes a flagrant violation of the basic norms of international law.

(Mr. Cárdenas, Argentina)

We are concerned at the effect of the arms embargo against Bosnia and Herzegovina, for it leaves it defenceless in the face of aggression.

We do not for this reason, however, accept that the aggressors should place us in the position of a moral compulsion to recommend, in this forum, the lifting of that embargo. We remain inclined to make every effort for an immediate peaceful solution. Therein resides our conviction, and hence we make a last appeal to the aggressors that they come to the negotiating table in good faith in order to achieve the immediate solution that is offered to them.

"Ethnic cleansing" is an insult to mankind, and it deserves our firm and explicit condemnation. Those responsible for it must, sooner or later, answer for their conduct.

In the face of this tragic situation, Argentina, which has a long tradition of friendship with all the peoples of the former Yugoslavia, reiterates its resolve to support the international efforts to try to resolve this crisis; and we strongly support the action of the Security Council.

In this framework we are contributing a significant number of troops to the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR). Last year we participated in the Conference on humanitarian assistance to the victims of the conflict and attended the special emergency session of the Commission on Human Rights in Geneva on the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Argentina is currently participating in various peace-keeping operations in Central America, Asia, Europe, Africa and the Middle East. We have significantly increased our participation in these operations, and we shall continue to maintain our presence, since Argentina is convinced that this constitutes a commitment not only to those countries where we have troops

(Mr. Cardenas, Argentina)

but also to the United Nations as an instrument for the promotion of international peace and security. Without such forces, and in particular those of Canada, the tragedy in Srebrenica would have been even greater.

In this context, we supported and joined in the appeals made by the Security Council to all the parties in the conflict to take the necessary measures in order to ensure the safety of the UNPROFOR personnel. Their presence is the only light in the deep darkness of the crisis today.

At this time we wish to ask, like all those other countries that are generously contributing their troops in the former Yugoslavia for the cause of peace, that we be informed and listened to in respect of possible future action in the region. It is obvious that we have an abiding interest.

As a specific contribution to the efforts aimed at allaying the human suffering, the Goverment of Argentina has informed the authorities of Bosnia and Herzegovina and of Croatia that my country, with the coordination of the International Red Cross, is prepared to receive orphans from both countries, and we are prepared to take charge of the travel arrangements and care of those children that have been afflicted by the violence and to bring them to Buenos Aires.

In order to avoid further loss of life and property, the Government of Argentina once again urges all the parties involved in the crisis to renew their efforts for a peaceful solution and to respect the territorial integrity of all the States of the region.

Let this be clear: authority over territory cannot be acquired by force. The prohibition of the use of force presupposes the elimination of conquest as grounds for claiming such authority.

(Mr. Cardenas, Argentina)

The refusal to recognize territorial acquisitions as a result of the use of force means total rejection of the legal validity of all acts by the occupier on the occupied territory.

On behalf of my Government, I wish to express the firmest support for the peace plan presented by the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, as announced by the Secretary-General in document S/25479, dated 26 March 1993, a plan which is in the context of the principle of the peaceful and negotiated settlement of disputes.

(Mr. Cardenas, Argentina)

The basis of that plan must be safeguarded before the plan becomes a theoretical exercise. The plan is the only option ready to hand for stopping the bloodshed and ending the tragedy. It is the only foundation on which we can build. It will not be easy, but it will be impossible so long as military activity continues.

We support the provisions of the Security Council's recent resolutions 819 (1993) and 820 (1993), and those of earlier related resolutions. The latest resolution sends a clear and forceful message to the side that continues to resort to the use of force in its attempt to violate the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Perhaps it is time also to consider making the aggressor responsible for the costs incurred by the United Nations in its efforts to secure peace: those efforts have been made necessary by repeated non-compliance with Security Council resolutions. This is, of course, without prejudice to other responsibilities the aggressor may bear.

Any international conflict has unforeseeable consequences. Neighbouring peoples and countries of the former Yugoslavia are suffering economic and social effects the international community must also consider in terms of the norms of international coexistence and in the spirit of Article 50 of the Charter.

In exercise of its sovereign rights, Argentina will study the implementation of additional, bilateral, measures.

(Mr. Cardenas, Argentina)

It is time to eliminate any possible sanctuary for crimes whose very nature disgusts mankind. Here the principal responsibility lies with the Security Council. It is time to put an end to the suffering of an innocent civilian population whose only sin is to profess a different religion.

Half a century ago, Anne Frank wrote in her diary:

> "I can feel the suffering of millions, but if I raise my eyes to heaven I believe everything will turn out all right. I believe that this cruelty too will end, and that peace and tranquility will return once more".

That is a shared dream. Today Anne Frank belongs to us all, thank God. She is of no particular religion or race. Hers is the voice of mankind, the interior voice of the conscience.

The passage of time and delayed decisions worry us. Whatever the reason, the cost is counted in deaths and atrocities. Any delay is therefore inexplicable. It is time to cooperate firmly and consistently to restore peace to men and women who are defenceless but who live in hope.

That is our commitment through the United Nations, the sole body able to put an end to an aggression that is an affront to us all. Ours must be concerted action as an international community determined to ensure peace and the rule of law. We - civilians and military alike - reiterate our readiness to continue to cooperate in complete unity, drawing our clear inspiration from Article 1 of the Charter.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Argentina for his kind words to me.

The next speaker is the representative of the Czech Republic. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. GALUSKA (Czech Republic): Let me express my sincere pleasure, Sir, at seeing you in the presidency of the Security Council for this month. My delegation is convinced that under your able guidance the Council will be successful in dealing with the important and difficult tasks it faces this month.

I should like also to congratulate your predecessor, Ambassador Terence O'Brien of New Zealand, on the great job he did during his presidency in the month of March.

All of us have been consistently describing the situation in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, and particularly Bosnia and Herzegovina, in dark terms. Let me join others in deploring and condemning the horrors taking place in that heavily tortured part of our continent by using the words of the most competent representative of all sitting here. Ambassador Muhamed Sacirbey has said:

> "Genocide and aggression are two powerful words in any language or tone. They convey images that shock and frighten civilized mankind. These are the images of present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina". (S/PV.3201, p. 7)

The catastrophic dimensions of the situation are fully evident in the horrendous loss of innocent human lives, the massive violation of human rights, the devastation of the country and the continuing flight of thousands of refugees.

The Czech Republic is directly interested in the political, security and economic stability of Central and Eastern Europe. The stability of the region has been seriously violated by the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, which has a negative effect on the security situation throughout Europe.

(Mr. Galuska, Czech Republic)

Since the conflict started, the Czech Republic has always insisted on a peaceful and democratic settlement arrived at by political means. We support unequivocally the implementation of the Vance-Owen plan and of the mandate of the units of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) operating in the former Yugoslavia. We consider the role of our UNPROFOR unit as an active contribution to the solution of the crisis, and would like it to continue its operations. Allow me in this context to pay a particular tribute to Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, and all those who work with them, for their tireless efforts.

The situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina calls for a solution based on agreement among all three parties concerned. The Czech Republic will respect any outcome of the negotiations, on the condition that it prevents further bloodshed and justly reflects the interests of all the participants in the conflict.

Recent developments have proved that the Serb party is failing to show sufficient will to achieve a political solution of the conflict. Should the representatives of the Bosnian Serbs not accept the Vance-Owen plan within the defined period of time, the Czech Republic will support further decisive action by the Security Council.

A great deal of time has already elapsed without the Bosnian Serbs accepting a negotiated settlement to the conflict. We welcome the recent adoption of Security Council resolution 820 (1993) on tightening economic sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). We believe the strengthening of the sanctions regime, considered by many to be not as comprehensive as might be desired, can nevertheless have a positive impact on the situation. Among other positive steps, we would mention the ban

(Mr. Galuska, Czech Republic)

on military flights over Bosnia's airspace; the decision to facilitate the delivery of humanitarian aid; and last but not least the fact that the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia has become a Member of the United Nations, which we consider also as a step that enhances stability in the region.

At the same time, it is becoming more and more apparent that a peaceful solution of the situation in the former Yugoslavia can hardly be achieved by diplomatic means alone. In that sense, we view resolution 816 (1993) on the enforcement of the no-fly zone as an expression of the political resolve of the international community actively to settle the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and we support it fully.

We regard the situation in Kosovo as very serious. There is a threat of another open conflict which could spread into neighbouring States. In our opinion the regions of Sandjak and Vojvodina could also become focuses of future conflicts. That is why we consider the activities of the monitoring missions in those regions to be very important; we are preparing our own staff to take part in them.

We condemn the massive eviction of inhabitants from conquered regions, known by the term "ethnic cleansing". The flow of refugees from the former Yugoslavia has become a problem for the whole of Europe, posing a threat to the internal stability and security of States. The Czech Republic has been providing humanitarian aid for refugees on its own soil, as well as for the former Yugoslav republics.

We insist on a thorough investigation of the war crimes committed in the region of the former Yugoslavia and demand punishment of the guilty in accordance with Security Council resolution 808 (1993).

(Mr. Galuska,
Czech Republic)

I am sure we are all painfully aware of the extremely grave and steadily worsening humanitarian situation, in particular in places like Sarajevo and Srebrenica. Among the most urgent needs is the prevention of more bloodshed and the reinforcement of existing humanitarian operations. The Security Council must mark its actions in this regard with meaningful enforcement machinery and serious political will.

As I started my statement by quoting Ambassador Sacirbey of Bosnia and Herzegovina, let me, with his kind permission, conclude in the same way. All that is happening in the former Yugoslavia now gives rise to

> "an obligation on the part of the community of nations to take concrete steps to halt immediately the actions those words [aggression and genocide] represent." (S/PV.3201, p. 7)

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the Czech Republic for his kind words addressed to my predecessor and to me.

There are no further names on the list of speakers. The next meeting of the Security Council to continue the consideration of the item on the agenda will be fixed in consultation with the members of the Council.

The meeting rose at 5.30 p.m.